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423 from a patrilineal norm are so frequent that it is unusual for any man to hold
425 precisely the same blocks as his father who was *enda mama* before him. Nor do
611 clan boundaries and village boundaries remain unchanged for any length of time. In themselves, such departures from patrilineal ideology do not in the least reduce the usefulness of a descent model for the explanation of Orokaiva land tenure, providing that we can plausibly regard all departures from the patrilineal rule as random responses to the vicissitudes of life. In the past, some New Guinea ethnographers have proceeded from this assumption, whereas others (e.g. Lawrence 1967) were willing to recognise structural regularities in the transfer of land to persons other than agnates:

> The potential social relationships which can be deduced from titles to land are of great theoretical importance. They represent an interlocking system of rights and obligations which can reinforce purely biological relationships (those of kinship and descent) within the security circle. (Lawrence 1967:114)

428 The first question that needs to be resolved, in the case of the Orokaiva, is
423 whether there is really a *rule* enjoining a man to leave his land to his sons (if he has any). I found the rule to be much more ambiguous. If a man has sons, he is
425 expected to leave them *at least half* his land, but he is free to dispose of the other half to others – sisters, daughters, adopted children, for example. Thus a degree of freedom of disposition *is built into the Orokaiva system.* The many cases of non-patrilineal inheritance quoted by Rimoldi, and others I could add, are therefore not exceptions to a rule but the operation of a rule clearly stated by informants. In this discussion, I shall first show on a purely empirical basis that some land transfers are explained by a principle of descent and others on the principle of what Lawrence calls reinforcement of relationships within the security circle. Next, I shall investigate how far the transactional model developed above can provide a principle of higher generality which will sufficiently explain *all* land transfers, patrilineal and other. In the present section I shall concentrate on transfers within the patrilineage.

596 We have seen earlier in this discussion that the obligation to 'look after' a plot
423 of land formally arises out of an arrangement between an individual (a newly born child) and an ancestor. In practice, however, the ultimate responsibility
[554] falls on the head of the extended family, the 'father of the ground' (*enda mama*). This *enda mama* inherits his title from his father or elder brother who died before him. If he has sisters, younger brothers, children or grandchildren, all
[768] these will regard him as *enda mama.* Thus, the death of an individual will not affect the performance of the obligation to ancestors living on the land, as the *enda mama* will either discharge these obligations himself or appoint some other occupier to carry them out.

596 Politically, the *enda mama* acts as leader of his group both externally and internally. In external disputes he champions members of his group against the claims of outsiders. This role is an exceedingly important one and many examples are given where a young man who had a perfectly valid claim to land could not take possession of it because he had nobody to 'speak for him'. (His
[627] father was dead.) Internally, in conflicts between members of the extended family, the word of the *enda mama* is final. Nobody outside the family can

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intervene, nor can juniors overrule the *enda mama*. In theory, a man who will not accept the decision of the *enda mama* has no option but to leave the village and forfeit his patrimony. 596

Economically, the *enda mama* is theoretically in full control of all products of the soil and of all resources owned by his family. He also has full control over the allocation of land to family members and others, with the proviso that his sons, if any, should get at least 'half' of the land when he dies. [423] [428]

In summary, the religious, political and economic attributes of the extended family enable us to describe it undoubtedly as a corporate group. It has to be recognised, however, that the parcels of land controlled by this corporation vary considerably from generation to generation. A corporation will shed parcels which are permanently vested in other lineages, and will obtain new parcels from uterine kin and others. Plant (n.d.), Belshaw (1951), Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) have all treated this land corporation as comprising a 'lineage', so that it may seem idiosyncratic that I am calling it an 'extended family'. My reason for changing the description is that I was unable to find any case of an extended family lacking an *enda mama*. There are, of course, lineages comprising more than one extended family, but in such cases one finds more than one *enda mama*. Crocombe and Hogbin, faced with this phenomenon, added the term 'sub-lineage' to their pyramid of segmentary patrilineal groupings, but their small sample contains no case of a 'sub-lineage' comprising more than one extended family. In these circumstances we may well delay discussion of the range of control of the *enda mama* until we examine patrilineal ideology in Chapter X. 596 613 [423] [425]

We notice, however, an apparent conflict between patrilineal ideology and practice. According to the ideology, an Orokaiva patrimony is passed on from an *enda mama* to his successor; there is no rule for splitting up the patrimony between the sons of a deceased *enda mama*. How does it come about, then, that every extended family has its own *enda mama*? The process is easy to describe. It is customary for an *enda mama* to allocate land to all married men of his extended family on a more or less permanent basis. He has the right to change these allocations when special circumstances arise but changes do not occur often. As the *enda mama* becomes older, and less able to make his own gardens, he tends to distribute more and more plots, either to his sons or to other persons of his choice. Though the patrimony remains undivided in theory, in practice it is being divided. In this subdivision, the rights of brothers are supposed to be equal regardless of seniority. 596 423 425 [428]

When the older brother dies, the position of *enda mama* passes to the younger brother. The sons of the elder brother then retain no rights of succession and will depend for their well-being on the new *enda mama*, their uncle, who often adopts them if they are young. If the younger brother dies, and there are no other brothers left, the younger brother's eldest son becomes *enda mama*. The custom in such cases seems to be that the portion of the original patrimony set aside for the elder brother should go to the sons of the elder brother; the portion set aside for the younger brother should go to the sons of the latter. Theoretically the eldest son of the younger brother would be *enda mama* over the entire original patrimony but in practice a gradual splitting up would be inevitable. Orokaiva do not easily accept the authority of their cousins or adoptive brothers. 596 428

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In any case, there are no strong economic or political reasons to prevent the splitting of the patrimony. Nor are there religious reasons, because every married male is fully competent to carry out ritual in the garden he is cultivating. The Orokaiva do not have primogeniture in the sense intended by Raglan (1963:100); it is not in the *enda mama* that the spirits of the ancestors are reincarnated, but in all the individuals of the extended family. The *enda mama*, therefore, is not the sole channel of charisma, but rather a kind of revered manager. He usually contrives to keep the patrimony together through the respect and obedience that is due, in Orokaiva custom, to a father and elder brother. I know of several instances where this authority was challenged and found that, in practice, the sons of younger brothers were not cut out of the patrimony, but their share was cut out and the relationship was severed.

Informants were all agreed that at any time either the *enda mama* or the junior member of a land-holding corporation may opt out of the relationship: such a separation involves, first of all, the breaking down of a social relationship in which protection is exchanged for deference and obedience. Therefore such a breakdown involves a high cost for both partners. When I inquired into some breakdowns that actually happened at Sivepe, I was given two kinds of explanation: (*a*) the senior partner broke off the relationship because he was not obeyed; (*b*) the junior partner broke off the relationship because the senior 'did not look after the land properly'. The first kind of explanation suggests that the elder partner, not receiving obedience, no longer received any rewards from the relationship and therefore terminated it. The second kind of explanation is more obscure as I never could find out just *how* the seniors had failed to protect the land. I gather there had been bad harvests, that the juniors thought something was wrong with the land, or that the senior had done something to provoke sorcery which endangered all the land of his lineage. Whatever the details, the juniors felt that the cost of deference to their elder brother was no longer warranted, in view of the amount of 'protection' they received. There was no fear, in any of these cases, that such a separation would be followed by retribution, physical, magical or supernatural. As I showed in Chapter III, the Orokaiva accepts fraternal strife as a natural consequence of events in primal time.

When such separations occur within a three-generation extended family, they are regarded by the community as (minor) misfortunes. On the other hand, they are regarded as normal when they occur between first cousins in a four- or five-generation lineage. Implicit in such judgements is a notion that there is a lower and an upper limit to the useful size of corporate groups. The young man who loses land rights because he has nobody to 'speak for him', obviously needs incorporation in a group. The secure man in middle age who has his land interests cut out of the control of the *enda mama* obviously feels that the useful upper limit of the corporate group has been exceeded. We may express the transactions at the lower and upper limit of the useful size of groups in the following exchange cycles:

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Previous research such as that of Rimoldi (1966) has shown clearly enough that the Orokaiva patrilineage is not *in practice* an enduring corporate group. The model I am proposing here goes further: it states a rule according to which patrimonies are fragmented and the fragments constituted into new units. It follows from this rule that neither lineage membership nor the principle of patrifiliation (cf. Barnes 1962, 1967) suffices to account for the inheritance of landed estates.

The basic condition for inheritance is that there should be a continuing filial or quasi-filial relation, usually based on co-residence and filial services, thus inducing the *enda mama* to make an appropriate response and continue the protection of the real or fictive junior, as symbolised by the transfer of land, often in gradual steps during the *enda mama's* lifetime.

Having shown that patrifiliation is not a sufficient condition for land inheritance, we shall proceed in the next section to show that it is also not a necessary condition. This argument will be followed by an exposition of an alternative model based on the principle of exchange.

5. *Transfers of Land outside the Corporate Group*

The land transfers so far discussed were conducted between agnates and largely prescribed by rules of inheritance. We have seen that there is some freedom of disposition, as the father is not obliged to transmit more than half of his land to his sons. His freedom is even greater if he has no resident sons or brothers. Even a man with many sons and brothers, and with only limited land holdings, is not prevented from making occasional land transfers, though these are more likely to be on only a temporary basis.

The extent of known transfers outside the rules of patrilineal succession has been recorded for the villages of Sivepe and Inonda. In Sivepe more than half of 104 parcels of land belonging to the Jegase clan have been so transferred (Rimoldi 1966:59) whereas only 15 out of 34 gardens investigated were planted by primary members of the right-holding lineage (*ibid.*: 70). In Inonda, the proportion was 20 out of 55 (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:34). Recipients were sometimes members of the same clan but of a different lineage: sometimes they were members of another clan. The whole of the land now occupied by the Andiriha clan of Inonda was donated by the Tandai'undi of Seva in 1915, when they were affines.

Most of these transfers were made to sisters and daughters of the *enda mama* and, by implication, to the men who had married these women. They were most commonly full sisters and full daughters, but there are many cases involving classificatory and adoptive relationships. The making of such gifts depends partly on inclination; a man who greatly dislikes his son-in-law will not settle land on him. If the daughter marries outside a radius of about three miles from the home village, she usually receives no land. Many women who marry in a neighbouring village receive land close to the boundary. The popular explanation of such gifts is the deep love between a man and his sister (or his daughter). There is, however, another consideration which may have encouraged these transfers: the Orokaiva practised preferential patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, so that a village which allowed a woman to cultivate land, while married in an

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423 man to take responsibility while their sons are still too young. This man will
431 'look after' their land in an economic, political and religious sense and will restore
736 it to the son or sons when they come of age. But in the cases of which I have knowledge, some land is likely to stay with the protector, who often becomes an heir of the widow or cripple.

423 4. In all the cases mentioned so far land is an object representing
591 respectable status and exchangeable for services of a quasi-filial nature. The same applies to most instances I know of uxorilocal marriage. Here it was usually the
583 wife's relatives who desired the husband to stay with them, whereas the latter had no pressing reasons to leave his home village. They were generous in their offers of land, and no sensible man would move without such inducement. After the eruption of Mount Lamington, the survivors of the Sangara tribe, greatly reduced in numbers, offered generous land portions, on a wholly permanent basis, to men who would marry uxorilocally. Widowers dependent on the care of their daughters will encourage uxorilocal marriage in the same way. (The frequency of uxorilocal marriage among the Orokaiva is between 5 and 10 per cent.) In these cases it is clear that land donors are motivated by the desire to attract the son-in-law, and that the son-in-law is motivated by pleasure at the status he will gain as symbolised by the land he is allowed to 'look after'.

423 5. A very similar motivation may be found for the land transfers made in
425 Sivepe in 1966–7 to families who had migrated from neighbouring Garombi. Seeking an increase in population, Sivepe leaders frequently encouraged dissident
166 minorities in some neighbouring villages to join them. When the Garombi people came, a good deal of effort was made to obligate them and attract their friendship and loyalty. Two men gave useholds over gardens and one man gave a usehold over three yam gardens. It is likely that there were other transfers as well, just before I left the field and afterwards. One of the men who received a taro garden started using the donor's plant emblem when working in that garden, thus emphasising the closeness of the bond with the donor's family, as plant emblems are normally transmitted only by descent. Here the donors were motivated by a desire to attach the immigrants more closely to themselves, and the recipients gave friendship and loyalty in return. Here, as in uxorilocal residence, the migrants' willingness to settle in the village was itself treated as a benefit bestowed upon the local people by the migrants.

423 6. As already mentioned, the transfer of land to sisters and daughters is
428 very common. It is the rule that, in the absence of brothers and sons, sisters and
425 daughters should inherit land in preference to second degree kin. I know of several instances where absent brothers and sons were overlooked in favour of sisters and daughters resident in the village. Even if brothers and sons are living in the village, some land may be transferred to females. This will occur especially if a daughter's or sister's husband is known to be short of gardening land. In addition, it may occur for the kind of reasons given by Lawrence in his discussion of land transfers among the Garia, i.e. the enhanced status gained by the mother's brother when he acquires a junior follower strongly dependent on
[554] him. Among the Orokaiva where the majority of people marry close to home, a man's generosity to his sister may yield him quite a number of loyal supporters if the sister happened to have many children.

423 7. Land is sometimes made available by an individual *enda mama* for a
621
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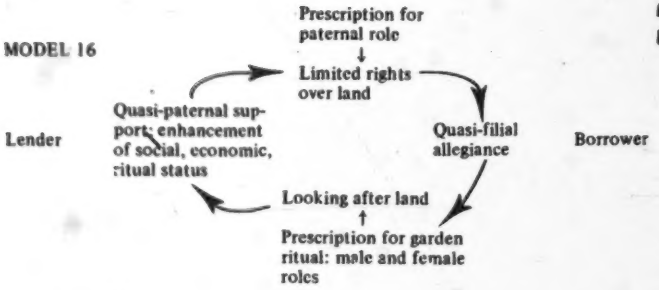

6. *Case Study of Uterine Land Inheritance*

If a person resides at too great a distance to make gardens on his land, he commonly passes it on to a suitable kinsman to be 'looked after', which means the establishment of gardens on it at regular intervals and the performance of religious rites. After a decent interval (perhaps twenty years), the caretakers will begin to press for a permanent arrangement: does the owner intend to return or will he pass over his land permanently to a resident? It is possible to stall on such a decision for a long time, but even if the owner's rights have the strongest basis, viz. patrilineal inheritance, they gradually become more tenuous and the man who looks after the land increasingly becomes the real master. Theoretically, however, the right to patrimony land is never extinguished. At the same time, a land gift to a sister or daughter is often made on the basis that when the land passes to her male heir he will be able to keep it permanently for his descendants. The formal rules on this point are flagrantly contradictory. If we wish to understand the principles behind uterine land inheritance, our most useful course will be to consider how the system operates in a concrete case.

The data I shall discuss here were reported in Crocombe's and Hogbin's study of Inonda (1963) and supplemented in a brief study by myself. A leading man from Tandai'undi clan (Seva village) gave most of the present Inonda domain to a leading man of Andiriha clan. The Andiriha made various gifts at that time (1915) and also gave Tandai'undi two women in marriage. In the following generation Tandai'undi, according to the custom (of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage), gave two women in exchange to Andiriha, or to be precise, to the son of the donor of the original two women. It was then promised that the son of the elder of these two women would assume control and be permitted to pass on this land to his heirs.

In the 1950s several incidents occurred which emphasised the limitations of the rights of Andiriha. When some Tandai'undi were dismissed from a construction job (by a European overseer), they went to Inonda village where the foreman, an Andiriha, lived. They reminded the foreman that Inonda was 'their' land and that if he wanted to remain on it he had better get them their jobs back (Crocombe and Hogbin (1963: 72). As I have pointed out, a land borrower always has a duty to protect the interests of the lender and this

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plexes" (1967: 123). In particular, he stated the opinion that many Melanesian structures '*ne relèvent pas des structures élémentaires*' (*ibid.*: 122). We learn the precise meaning of this statement in another essay, *The Future of Kinship Studies*, published in the English language in 1966. Whereas elementary structures operate ideally within a fixed number of marriage classes, the rules of complex structures are so framed that the system requires a perpetual supply of new affinal groups for its continued operation. They produce a probabilistic alliance network. Rules of this kind are found in the Crow and Omaha systems, but also in many other culture areas, including Melanesia (1966: 21).

Since these hypotheses were published, a number of anthropologists have begun to test them empirically. To mention only two examples, Guiart (1968) has shown the presence of restricted exchange rules in New Caledonia and Kelly (1968) has shown the presence of generalised exchange on Dobu. It seems, however, that a crucial implication of the Lévi-Straussian hypotheses remains to be explored. It is suggested that restricted and generalised exchange (or perhaps restricted and complex exchange) *encounter* one another in the Melanesian culture area. This would imply the possibility of the simultaneous existence in the same society of both forms and some interaction between the two. If such a society could be found, the hypothesis implies that generalised exchange attempts to establish itself there, but *fails* to find a firm foothold, while features of restricted exchange tend to reassert themselves constantly as a result of this *failure*.

The interest of the Orokaiva case lies in the coexistence of the two systems, on the level both of norms and facts. In Orokaiva social structure we may see the two systems in interaction and discover by which factors each of the systems is maintained in opposition to the other. We thus arrive at a model on a higher level of abstraction than those of Guiart and Kelly, but comprising them both. In this model moiety systems are perpetually broken up by forces built into the structure itself: yet the model also predicts their perpetual reinstatement. The model consists, in fact, of a cyclical movement between the two patterns. The reality of Melanesian structure is not exhausted by either of the two patterns taken in isolation, but includes their necessary alternation over time and in space. The dynamic whereby this alternation is produced is the main subject of this chapter.

2. *Patrilineal Groups*

The Orokaiva are patrilocal and have dispersed patriclans. They make many statements which demonstrate their patrilineal ideology: agnates are expected to support each other in war and all other vicissitudes of life, irrespective of their place of residence. The basic inheritance rule is patrilineal. Clans and clan segments have distinctive emblems which are passed on in the patriline and identified with a common agnatic ancestor. One may even hear claims that the dispersed clan is an exogamous unit. All analytically-minded investigators, however, have been aware that this agnatic ideology covered up a very different reality. Williams remarked: 'The Orokaiva organisation very nearly approaches a bilateral system, though in theory it is patrilineal' (1925: 407). Williams was especially struck by the 'laxity' of the marriage regulations and by cases where

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611 men showed loyalty to their affines rather than their clansmen. He also noted a
614 widespread tendency for individuals to identify with the maternal rather than the
paternal clan. Evidence on land tenure, presented by Crocombe, Hogbin and
● [429] Rimboldi, provides an impressive list of exceptions to the supposed rule of patrilineal inheritance and points, in addition, to the feebleness of links between the local groups making up a dispersed clan.

614 At the time of Williams' study, most Orokaiva villages were composed of a
621 single clan and comprised little more than six households. The Australian
361 authorities used a good deal of pressure to make the Orokaiva consolidate their
177 hamlets into larger villages which could be more easily patrolled, but by 1951 Belshaw reported that most Orokaiva still lived in hamlets. In 1966 I found a good number of one-clan villages, with populations of around fifty, but the majority of the people were concentrated in larger settlements in which at least two local clan groups were residing together.

The local clan group was traditionally the smallest viable military unit, whose duty it was to defend the hamlet territory against outsiders. It had its own military leader, feasting leader, technical and magical experts. In the modern multi-clan village, the corporate scope of the local clan group has declined, as its functions have been taken over by the village. Village feasts, village boundaries, village leadership tend to take the place of the earlier local clan group institutions. Due to these changes, the unity of the local clan group has become more difficult to establish and maintain.

614 Crocombe, Hogbin and Rimoldi have provided full data showing that local
613 clan groups are often divided into a number of exclusive segments they call 'lineages', which are characterised by putative common patrilineal descent from an ancestor who could often not be named. It is certainly true that we find important units intermediate between the extended family and the local clan group. First, it is possible to list four names of such major units within the Jegase local clan group and the same number within Seho. But the term 'lineage' might be deceptive unless we define it more closely.

614 If we look at the clan segments in Sivepe (it will soon be clear why I prefer
613 not to call them 'lineages'), their real distinctive feature is that they either came
166 to Sivepe as migrants from the same village or as members of the same clan. There is no evidence whatever that, in their village of origin, they would necessarily have been regarded as close kin. Their feeling of being closely related arose only subsequent to migration. The study of Orokaiva migrant groups, even comprising just a few families, easily reveals that they tend to consist of one core family to which others will rally, not because they are related by kinship but because they want to leave, are good friends of the migrating family and, most probably, have some kin or friendship links in the village where the group intends to settle. It is only after arrival there that they may, for ideological and political reasons, create the fiction of being close patrikin. A number of such groups fuse with earlier arrivals into larger units bearing a clan name adopted by all. Hence, for most purposes these smaller units are best described as 'clan segments', though it may be useful to refer to them as lineages when discussing informants' statements concerning the patrilineal ideology by which such groupings are held together.

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by a consanguine of either side, the proper side being determined by a medicine man (See Schwimmer 1969). The effect of this theory is that a woman belongs to her clan in a less absolute sense than a man.

This theory of paternity may be explained teleologically as serving to emphasise the rights and identity of the patriclan in a social system which 'very nearly approaches' bilaterality. In Orokaiva society women very often receive a portion of patrimony land. Their indulgent brothers frequently give lands to their sister's children and such land may well pass into the hands of those children's heirs. Currently, over 50 per cent of cultivated land is owned by persons other than the cultivators, and very often the cultivator's useholds became perpetuated. Such perpetuation proceeds in spite of an explicit rule denying women hereditary rights to their patrimony useholds. The physiological reasoning by which Orokaiva women are denied full clan membership should therefore be interpreted as a symbolic statement insisting on the limits that should be placed upon uterine intrusion on clan property.

When Orokaiva informants are asked why women should not have hereditary rights over land, they usually give as the reason that a woman will marry into a strange clan and village so that it would be dangerous to give her children any rights. Such reasoning goes back to a time when the most frequent marriage forms were abduction and elopement. In practice, the fate of a woman's patrimony rights depends on where she marries: if she does marry in a friendly neighbouring village or by sister exchange, her children will probably keep her property. This is therefore the preferred feminine pattern. But if she is taken by a man from a strange village, her clan rights become precarious. We have already seen that this latter pattern of marriage is forced upon men not only by ecological contingencies but by the marriage rules themselves. Ideological devices to deny women full clan membership are consistent with this pattern. Such devices are inconsistent with restricted marriage exchange, because the latter system depends on the return of a woman's offspring to her natal clan as marriage partners in a later generation. In the Orokaiva system this is envisaged as only one of several structurally recognised possibilities.

8. *The Nature of Orokaiva Bridewealth*

The most convenient way of explaining the nature of Orokaiva bridewealth payments (*dorobu*) is by contrasting them with certain types of African bridewealth (*lobola*), as analysed by Lévi-Strauss.[2] Here the recipient applies the gifts, wholly or in large part, to the immediate purchase of wives for himself or his family. *Lobola 'n'est recu que pour commencer, aussitôt, un nouveau circuit . . . Il ne sera jamais consommé, sauf, occasionellement et partiellement, à des fins sacrificielles. A peine reçu, il fera l'objet d'un remploi, sous la forme d'une épouse pour le frère ou le cousin de la jeune marié* (1967:536). Under such a system it could rightly be said that *'la femme fournie en contrepartie est remplacée par une valeur symbolique'* and that the wife-giving families received in return *'la garantie, sous forme de biens privilégiés, de trouver elles-mêmes des épouses'* (*ibid.* 540).

Papuan bridewealth objects, however, cannot generally be applied to the same ends, or are not in practice generally so applied. The most important Orokaiva

231 some toll on growth rates, size and length of life. Sows are quite prolific, however, and litters of 6 to 10 piglets which survive weaning are common. Boars are not numerous but it is claimed that the owner charges no fee for their services.

It is doubtful whether improved breeding and husbandry could [431] in themselves induce a significant increase in the consumption of meat by pig owners. Pigs are too scarce in this area to meet the existing demand and priority is given to the use of pigs for [435] distribution as pork at feasts or for gift exchanges. Very often neither a man nor his close kin have a suitable pig available when needed and in one such instance a price of £20 was set by the owner of a pig in another village.

Any person who aimed to establish a herd of significant numbers for commercial purposes would probably need to divorce himself as a participant from the network of exchanges which involve pigs.

245 e. Economic trees

[131] Although the village is 23 miles from Gona on the coast and over 1,000 ft above sea level, most economic trees are abundant. [133] The average household claimed 62 trees from which crops are gathered in season.[1] In order of numerical importance these were coconut, breadfruit, areca (betel) nut, sago, pandanus and tauga-nut (Cycas media) trees. Each household also owned one or two citrus, puga-nut (Terminalia okaria), mango or barkcloth trees. [137] Sago does not grow wild in this area as it does on more low-lying land, but numerous small creeks provide sites suitable for planting. The 93 sago trees owned by Jegase and Timumu people are sufficient to meet the intermittent demand for sago for distribution at large gatherings or during the occasional period when there are limited amounts of the more common crops ready to be harvested from the village's gardens. Whenever a tree is harvested the owner is expected to share the sago widely with the other villagers whether they are his agnates or not.

Most villagers had lived in several villages, some of which are now abandoned, and had planted coconuts there which they still claim. They usually had similar numbers scattered over parcels of land where they had gardened in the past. Sixty-two per cent of all trees had been planted on the patrimonial land of the [428] person claiming the trees. A man often plants trees while gardening on the land of affines or matrilateral kin and these trees are inherited by the planter's son.

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[1] These claims were not thoroughly investigated but their accuracy was checked on a number of sample parcels where householders claimed a specific number of trees of various kinds.

423 It is customary for a man to plant a few trees on his own land for his sister's children for their later use. Women sometimes [245] acquire trees of their own in this way but unless a woman is the sole surviving member of the agnatic group in which are vested [428] the rights to the land carrying economic trees which she uses, she acquires no rights to specific trees from her father. After marriage she has only limited access to her patrikin's trees whose produce she previously shared. One householder stated [685] that he would not expect his sister to ask for produce from his trees because her husband should have enough of his own. Another once lodged a formal complaint with the Department of District Administration staff against his sister's husband who had come from another village to harvest one of his trees without first seeking his permission.

These restrictions do not apply to a widow who has returned to the village as a dependent on her father's kin; nor do they apply to a married woman if the trees in question were planted by her husband while gardening on the land of her group.

428 Economic trees are ideally inherited patrilineally in the same way as the land of the planter (see p.38).A Sometimes a man inherits trees from his father, usually in an area some distance from where he lives, without retaining proprietary rights to his father's land where the trees stand. The heir then needs to seek permission for access to the trees which he may have been allowed [423] to retain by the deceased's co-resident kin who inherited the land. On the other hand, an individual may receive as a gift (from a distantly related kinsman) continuous rights to trees on land which he knows will be inherited by the donor's patrilineal descendants. In each of these ways rights to trees are transmitted from the planter to another person who does not receive the planter's land.

We noted one case where an individual seems to have reinforced a claim to inherit particular parcels of the land which he hoped he would share with another heir, by planting permanent trees there while gardening. The trees bore witness to the fact that these particular gardening areas had long been identified with him.

425 A man may periodically visit a distant area where he claims proprietary rights to land which he has not gardened for some time and harvest tree crops, or perhaps hunt there, and thereby reassert his claim to the land, but this mechanism is doubtless inadequate unless a close kinsman permanently resident there is willing to represent his interests at other times.

423 On special festive occasions a localized patrilineal group has 614 some call on the produce of the trees or even of garden produce of residents of other villages who are either closely related

A. [See Category 428, p. 38--Analyst]

613 general information is already beyond the immediate recall of the surviving Jegase men.

The Sivepe people who belong to Timumu, the second clan represented in our sample, are members of 2 lineages, Pekuma and Hajejopa. Other than clanship the two can reckon no link originating in the 'district' from which both emigrated independently to the neighbourhood of Sivepe; their closely parallel histories of migration, subsequent residence and marriage account for the present firm connection between them.

The largest exogamous groups are lineages, but this rule readily lapses when a lineage achieves a much wider span than average, especially if it becomes scattered for any length of time or in more than one 'hamlet group'.

621 [103] [128] All land around Sivepe and neighbouring villages is divided into named areas which we will call 'blocks'. Each is usually a locality deriving its name from a prominent local natural feature - often a tree or a grove of trees, hence Korinasusu or Korinaturu. For any subdivisions of a block we use the term 'section' and we refer to either 'blocks' or 'sections' as 'parcels' of land.[1] No correlation is implied between the type of a parcel and the type of rights held to it.

423 [428] All land constituting territory of the Jegase, Timumu or oth[illegible] in the neighbourhood is divided into parcels which are the ho[illegible]gs either of individuals or of full brothers. A man's rights and other property are ideally inherited patrilineally. In some circumstances a definitive division of the father's land may be made among his sons before his death. This usually takes place if the sons already have their own households, if the father is no longer very active in village life or if the younger men are only half-brothers. We know of no instances of a daughter receiving a particular share at the time of such an allocation, but we refer elsewhere to circumstances where women hold land (see Appendix E, p.111).[A] In other cases brothers may jointly hold all the land inherited from their father. This seems to apply particularly to instances where a younger brother is unmarried or has taken temporary employment away from the village

[562] 428

[823] [1] People commonly use the name of a block to refer to any parcel of land, for instance in listing their landholdings. They draw attention to any specific distribution of sections of 1 block among different people only when the context requires them to. On Map 2, where 1 man holds adjacent blocks or 2 adjoining sections on 2 adjacent blocks, the boundary between them is not shown. Only boundaries between different landholders are indicated.

A, [See Category 428, p. 111--Analyst] B, [See Category 102, p 40--Analyst]

428 before establishing a household. The older brother should in time provide the other with an equitable share of the land.

There is no system of primogeniture in theory or practice.[1] In one case, however, a childless man, who was adopted into the local branch of Jegase clan and has also married a Jegase woman, either has bequeathed his land to the leader of his wife's lineage who allocated it to his second son, or he has himself bequeathed it specifically to the boy (who was given his wife's deceased brother's name). Most of the patrimonial land and some land held by the woman are to be inherited by the elder son.

241 Turning to the extent of landholding, the 12 households studied hold 138 acres near Sivepe or 2.7 acres per head, all of it arable with the exception of little more than 1 or 2 per cent.[2] Some members claim to retain land in relatively distant areas where they or their forefathers originally lived. In cases where the Sivepe people had not exercised their rights to cultivate these land claims, no estimate of their size was made.

b. The history of local settlement

177 The territory of the mountain Orokaiva was opened up when a new road from Buna to the Yodda Valley goldfields near Kokoda was built in 1904. In this part of Orokaiva country individual tribes were not as isolated as elsewhere. Although the various tribes were initially described as being constantly warring, and likely to [721] attack government parties,[3] peace was secure within 4 years. Intertribal feuds were effectively suppressed, except for an occasional raid prompted by the docility of neighbouring tribes [166] under the novel conditions brought about by the arrival of the Europeans. Many tribes, including the 'Wasida', were able to settle on their outlying lands which formerly they had not occupied for fear of raids.

[464] Many of the people worked on the construction of the road, and later as carriers; by 1909 some had signed on for labour elsewhere

[184] [1] In this way, the mountain Orokaiva differ from at least one other Orokaiva tribe, the Yega at Beporo (R. Dakeyne: personal communication).

[162] [2] This density is the equivalent of 237 persons per square mile (cf. 300-500 per square mile for Southern Chimbu, Brown and Brookfield 1959:74). The Saiho Census Division, on the other hand, has only about 75 persons per square mile; however, as Map 2 indicates, it includes extensive areas of unoccupied and generally unused rainforest surrounding the concentration of populations with higher densities and separating them from their former enemies. Some of the land of the thousands of Kombu Sangara killed in 1951 also appears to fall inside the Saiho boundaries.

[3] See Territory of Papua 1903-4:39; ibid. 1904-5:14, 36.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41]

624 villages and individual members of these groups have come to
614 regard as their own, since 'usage tacitly becomes ownership'.[1]

Norton's use of enda mamo seems the most accurate whereas we would accept as valid for groups of any order Plant's separation of the status of embo dombo from that of a 'chief land controller' (or of any man with an authoritative local and historical knowledge of land). But we found no evidence to indicate that any person at Sivepe exercises rights to the land associated with either of the 3 clan branches, such as the landrights Plant and Belshaw attribute to the enda mamo or Norton attributes to the embo dombo.

[425] Among our recorded cases of land falling without direct lineal
[426] heirs, none seems to show that a person such as an embo dombo acquires it by exercising reversionary rights on behalf of the wider agnatic group.

Just as the function of a descent group of given dimension or local organization is specific to a time and place, the way control over land has devolved among its constituent units closely defines the role of the member (or members) with most influence in issues concerning land, whatever powers he happens to exercise in other connections. The nominal leader of the dispersed branch of Jegase clan is the local government councillor: an assertive middle-aged man, he is senior by any reckoning to other active members of Bebehupa lineage. He has more land than any other Jegase man in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless the scope of his authority in land matters affecting other Jegase men is severely restricted in that the interdependent Arehu and Berekipa lineages have been completely independent of others in the control of their land for the past 50 years.

613 He retains prestige and influence in many matters of concern to
624 his own lineage. He can claim prominence among more close agnates
[554] than a leading man of any other lineage in our sample, even though
[614] the Bebehupa have now dispersed from Binduta to Garombi, Nahihita, Kakita, Awala and Sivepe. They now say it is their responsibility as embo bajari (protector or sometimes a co-parcener, especially one responsible for controlling holdings of other heirs) to look after particular parcels of lineage land near these villages.

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[1] Ibid., quoting Williams (1928:125), who is referring to 'sections' (alternatively 'branches' and 'families'). See Norton (1962:8): the tacit permission of the clan for individuals and their descendants to use a vaguely demarcated area is not a 'permanent or ultimate authority vested in the individual by the passage of time.... This in no way grants the man or his successors ownership rights in it' (ibid.:9).

614 is the claim, however well founded, that this was part of the local ancestral land of men of their own clan.

The affirmation of the common territorial interest of the group of Jegase clansmen in the neighbourhood would occur only when we were proceeding with a series of enquiries both into the boundaries of the scattered parcels held by smaller groups or by individuals and into the source of their rights. This suggested that, in view of the frequency of individual transfer of parcels of land among non-agnates, the explicit assertion of the unity of the enduring group and its territory may be an ex post facto argument. This is both an affirmation of common grounds for legitimate land claims of individuals and lineages, irrespective of the actual origin of their rights, and also the most decisive means of differentiating clearly one parcel of land from adjacent holdings of members of other clans.

The appearance of a patrilineal ideology in this context might be expected of members of a loose-knit descent group with a territory interspersed with territories of other members of the local community in which an elaborate network of non-agnatic and affinal ties plays an important part in each individual's life. 571 It is by virtue of such interpersonal ties, hardly less than by 602 shared membership of a local patrilineal group, that close face-to-face contacts and bonds of friendship are maintained, mutual [425] assistance is offered, temporary rights to land are exchanged and, by these means, claims to inherit land are established in many [428] circumstances.

d. Patterns of landholdings

614 There are 60 blocks altogether which are either wholly or partly made up by one or more of the parcels held by the sample (138 acres in all). In general each block is held by members of a single clan branch but 3 are divided so men of each of the 2 sample groups hold sections. In other instances members of different clans and of other villages hold a contiguous section [613] of the named area but these were not measured. Eleven blocks were subdivided between 2 lineages of the same clan and just on half the total number of blocks contain internal boundaries between different householders in the lineage. No 2 householders are regularly associated with one another in the holding of rights in [613] the subdivided blocks.[1] The distribution of these and other parcels of the lineage land among its members is almost random.

[1] In one instance 2 men (who are brothers) held adjacent sections of several blocks but these sections represent only a small proportion (by area or number of parcels) of the landholdings of either man.

A,[See Category 601, p. 52--Analyst]

425 f. Local organization and land transfers

(i) Land use. The use of land is necessary in two senses to validate a land claim among these Orokaiva. Usage is an important factor in determining the extent to which land is identified with the component units of the group which claims to hold land (cf. Williams 1928:125 and Plant 1951: Appendix 2).

425 184 Four factors have produced a closer identification between a household and the patrimonial land it cultivates than in some other Orokaiva areas: first, the frequency with which an adopted member retains and transmits to his own descendants land which he acquired from his natal group; second, the limited supply of land; third, continual use by people of the lineage land used by and inherited from their fathers, in that no special access to land of other lineages of the clan branch is accorded to them simply as a group of co-resident agnates; and fourth, a fertile soil which allows a short fallow cycle after single plantings of a predominant soil-exhausting crop.

613 428 [848] It has been common practice for distinct genealogical branches within the lineage to exercise continuous and exclusive rights to separate areas of lineage land. The small group within which these prescriptive rights are exercised and transmitted does not easily endure demographic changes and if there are no surviving male members, the rights it exercised may in certain circumstances devolve on a female member, for instance, and subsequently to her son, even if he is illegitimate, or perhaps a claim of a relatively close agnate will be overridden in favour of a distant clansman, with or without other cognatic ties to the group. When these rights are transmitted outside the direct male line, residence and land use are important as factors which influence the definition of the rights of the beneficiary vis-a-vis surviving members of the wider patrilineal group. As noted above the scope of the authority of members of the wider group in questions of land tends to have been limited by the frequent independent movement of the smaller units.

425 [606] [614] Our descriptions of the kinship composition of the village and neighbourhood and of the social elements of land use indicate that it is common to find men living and gardening in the same village or neighbourhood as their mother's or wife's kin and that the relationship with these people in certain cases overlays some patrilineal affiliation. Individual ties of clanship too are sometimes given new significance when reinforced by co-residence and exchanges of gardening rights. These patterns, we suggest, are correlated with repeated instances of transfers of prescriptive land rights from the small effective landholding group to kinsfolk of other lineages or clans.

425 In such circumstances where the recipient and the original rightholder have lived in the same village or in neighbouring villages which are closely related and have worked together the land in question will be occupied by a person who has already established and maintained an accepted status in relation to the former landholder's group and who often has special relationships to particular kinsmen within it. At the time, accordingly, the [428] transfer is to the recipient as an individual[1] and not to a patrilineal group. After the passing of a generation however it will come to be regarded as part of the heritable territory of his agnates.

Moreover, there may be no immediate change in the use of the land involved and the extent of the rights being exercised may not be clarified for some time. In several cases we noted that a balance was eventually struck in dividing the land between claimants who were co-resident but distantly related patrikin of the deceased rightholder and those who were co-resident non-agnates.

Unfortunately, since our survey was short, we could gather little significant evidence of any disputes which may arise between parties with conflicting interest in such land. Our data include on the one hand instances where a transfer of rights still within memory has been confirmed over time and on the other the stated intentions of members of landholding groups as to the transmission of their rights.

Since the blocks involved are small and the fragmentation and interpenetration of the holdings of patrilineal groups is extensive, there is little concern for the maintenance of the continuity of the territory of these groups.[2]

These transfers which are prompted by individual needs and demographic changes lend flexibility over time in the distribution [428] of land which is a comparatively scarce resource. Population pressure has not resulted in greater conformity to the ideal system of patrilineal inheritance of available land.

171 (ii) Orokaiva and Chimbu land holding and residence compared.
121 We maintain that our account of the mountain Orokaiva shows not only the underlying contrast, in some respects, but also the significant characteristics in common with the Chimbu so that it

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[1] But in some cases a clear identification of the recipient may be arbitrary - e.g., to name him as either an affine or else a cognatic kinsman of the original holder is sometimes rather inaccurate, if the kin of these categories are father and son (see Appendix E, p.111). A

[2] See Brookfield and Brown 1963:133.

A,[See Category 428, p.111--Analyst]

436 a standard of value. However, to some extent money seems to have [555] taken over some of the functions of traditional valuables and in some situations one is exchanged for the other. In the past it [301] was recognized that skill and initiative in hunting and trading were necessary to acquire di hambo but today, with safer communi- [237] cations and better hunting equipment, they are more easily obtained. [321] People are willing to buy some of the more valuable items or some cheaper items of European manufacture which can be adapted to [439] serve as a novel decoration.

Although they constituted the greater part of the goods changing hands on traditional ceremonial occasions, di hambo are evidently [428] not now circulating rapidly. A little less than half of these valuables held by members of the sample had been inherited and nearly a quarter had been acquired by the owner by hunting or collecting.

A complete adjustment between the roles of money and of non-monetary valuables has not yet been made. They circulate in the same exchanges and both are considered essential; it may now be [583] accepted practice that each should be contributed by or distributed amongst different categories of kin on these occasions.[1] But the opinion was widely expressed that as people are increasingly demanding cash as a large part of bride price payments, the intrinsic value of these exchanges was correspondingly less.

435 Although money and traditional valuables are not freely interchangeable, we collected details of the prices paid for any items of di hambo which had been purchased by the sample,[2] and by using these in conjunction with the unitary scale of value on which informants could readily place all items, we assessed the possible cash equivalent of non-monetary valuables acquired by the 12 households from various sources. This is set out in Table 8.

Table 8

Cash value and acquisition of hambo and di
($)

	Inherited	Purchased	Bride price or other exchange	Made or bought	Total
Hambo	48.40	9.30	17.70	16.60	92.00
Di	17.60	4.50	6.50	15.40	44.00
Total	66.00	13.80	24.20	32.00	136.00

[1] See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:52.

[2] These prices were very nearly the same as those recorded at Imonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: Appendix B).

Appendix E

Cases of land transfers

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This section presents our information on the only recorded cases concerning land inheritance where the ideal norm of lineal transmission has not operated automatically and where we could obtain enough detail to indicate clearly the factors involved in the devolution of specific rights to a particular beneficiary from among a range of candidates.

I

One of the 2 Berekipa men who came from Hamburata and established Pusahambo village was given a parcel of Timumu land and was able to re-activate rights in some of the land which his father had held. Nine acres in all, this was the only land held by the Berekipa people when it was inherited by the present senior householder of the lineage. The son of the other immigrant who claimed no land in this area still depends on the senior man for gardening rights and on his own wife's brother of Arehu lineage.

II

His wife's classificatory brother (d7), just before his death about 1960, set aside 4 acres of land close to Sivepe to be inherited by their son (e2J); this Arehu man had no children and the rest of his land[1] was inherited by his mother's 'sister's' son (d9), another Jegase (Bebehupa) man with whom he had once lived at Korogombata and later at Awala where he had moved from Sivepe several years before his death. He had maintained close relations with the 'sister's' son (and clansman), the youngest Berekipa householder at Sivepe, and was buried by him. The transfer of land to him was sealed by a return gift of £5 and a pig; this was given, of his own accord, by the beneficiary's father to

[1] He had already given a small parcel of land to his wife's brother who was also his sister's husband and lived at Sivepe. This man's heir (e4S) has now planted coffee on it.

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the deceased's father (an old man soon to die himself) so that, he said, the transfer could not easily be contested later. Each of the 3 Berekipa householders has since cultivated a subsistence garden on the land.[1]

III

One brother of the Arehu man who accepted the return gift was the mother's father of the Berekipa man who received the land; another brother had held land consisting of parcels mostly adjacent to this and these were inherited by his daughter, an almost totally crippled woman living at Sivepe (d5). She has granted the Berekipa man rights to her own parcels; it is agreed that these rights differ significantly from those he acquired about the same time to the 4 acres nearby: he claims effective control of the use of the land on behalf of the woman and her illegitimate son until he is adult. He agrees that the son would inherit the land from her.

The woman and the boy live in the house of her mother's sister's son, the senior Berekipa householder. The younger man now uses and expects ultimately to inherit the land of this householder, his father's adoptive father. He would no doubt prejudice these rights if he were to lay permanent claim alike to both areas which the Arehu have passed to his control. However, he has planted a coffee plot on land he controls on behalf of the woman and neither expects that the income should be shared in return for such permanent use of the land.

IV

The only Arehu person at present exercising rights to Arehu land is the only adult male representative of the lineage in Sivepe (d4J), a widower with 1 daughter married into another village. About 1954 a younger brother moved to Agenahambo and on to the land of his wife's lineage, some of which he anticipated his young sons would eventually inherit. The elder of the 2 brothers claims that he now controls all the land they received from their father and that unless the brother and his sons return from Agenahambo they will forfeit their claim to Arehu land in favour of his sister's son, to whom he proposes to pass on his own rights. This man (e2J) is the Berekipa householder who has already used his links with other Arehu to acquire land rights; he has a current garden on the resident mother's brother's land. However, he is doubtful as to the outcome when the issue of the other land is forced. It is impossible to predict what will

[1] We do not know what obligations to the Arehu they incurred on former occasions for temporary use of their land.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 114]

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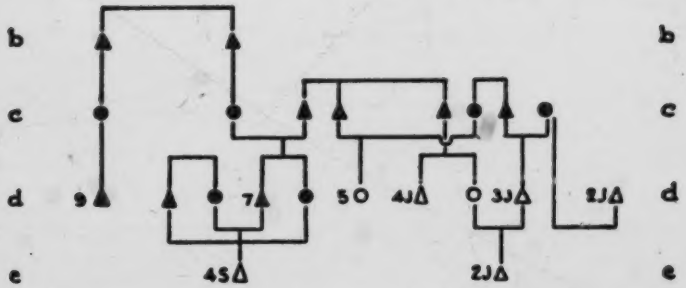
SELECTED GENEALOGY I



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425 happen if the absent Arehu man and his sons do not return to reinforce their rights by continued residence and cultivation of the land.

However, it is clear that whatever the result of the statement of his intentions, the resident Arehu man stands to place others in a position dependent on him. He has ample land but no sons or close male patrikin in the village; little opportunity to manoeuvre is afforded by the tenuous relationships he has with Jegase clansmen other than the Arehu and Berekipa. By playing one of these against the other he can create new obligations to himself among the Berekipa, his sister's husband's group, to whom he has granted planting rights for some time, or perhaps attract members of his lineage back to the village.

Postscript. Since our departure the Arehu man has succeeded in attaching a newly-established household to himself: the exchange transactions for his daughter's marriage (to a Soroputa man) have been completed. He claims that he accepted only £9 and 2 pigs from the husband's kin although more had been offered. His reason for rejecting the larger offer is that the married couple have made their home next-door to him at Sivepe; if they had built at Soroputa, he said, he would have accepted (E. Waddell: personal communication).

However, the point of interest here is that he has been asserting that his daughter's husband will inherit his land. We do not know whether the husband is expected to inherit the land the Arehu man now controls for his brother or only parcels he himself inherited; it does not seem likely that in either case his stated intention to pass some of the land to his sister's son could be discounted altogether, short of an improbable breach in relations between him and his sister's household.

V

The only surviving members of Sesewopa lineage are 2 sisters, 1 of whom lives in Sivepe married to a Seho man. She claims 4 parcels of land inherited from her father and exercises her exclusive rights to the produce of trees there but gardens on her husband's land. She jealously protects the rights of her sons to inherit this land and most members of other lineages concede that because they are living in the village they will acquire the land whereas their mother's sister's sons at Kiorota will have no rights. However, in the past the Sesewopa have been closely associated with the Bebehupa and the leader of this lineage, without openly opposing her claim, takes other opportunities to advance the view that, for the present, title to the land rests with her father's kin whom he insists he represents.

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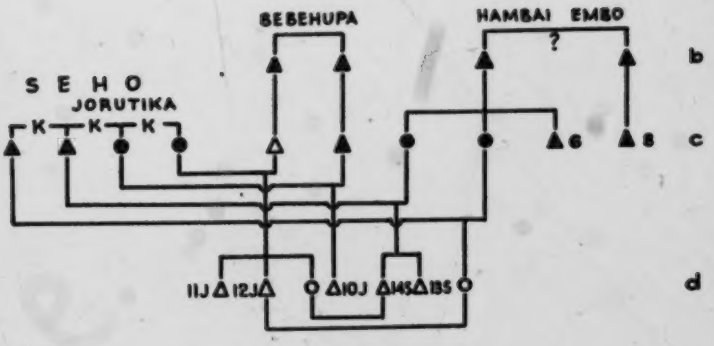
SELECTED GENEALOGY II



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VI

One Jegase lineage, Hambai'embo, has recently died out and its land has been transferred to members of other lineages and clans. The land of 1 man (c8) was divided when he died without sons or brothers. Three parcels were inherited by his daughter's son (e6S) and the rest were shared between 2 men of Bebehupa lineage (d9 and d12J), who lived in the same village as he.

VII

Several other parcels of land of Hambai'embo lineage were inherited by 2 Seho men (d13S and d14S) from their mother's brother with whom they had lived in Euru village. Neither this Jegase man nor his brother had sons and on his death rights to some of his land were transmitted to the sister's sons and some were assumed by his surviving brother. As this man had no family he lived in the household of his sister's daughter's husband (d12J, one of the Bebehupa men just mentioned) who inherited the land when he died. This heir and the Seho men have made conflicting claims to 1 parcel formerly held by the Hambai'embo; it is quite possible either that there never was a clear-cut division of the paternal land between the brothers of that lineage, although they seem to have lived and gardened in different areas, or that the dispute centres on questions about the shares inherited by the surviving brother and by the sister's sons of the first brother to die.

VIII

Three of the 4 Bebehupa households in Sivepe have current gardens on land of members of Jorotika lineage of Seho clan at Sivepe. The mother of the head of one of these Jegase households (d10J) was a member of a genealogical branch of Jorotika which has no resident members. The land of his mother's brother (who has been absent in Port Moresby for about 20 years) is at present controlled by the gardener's neighbour, another Jorotika man (e4S), who has confirmed that the area now used by the Jegase man may be passed to his son. His mother had been the only Jorotika person to use it continually in the past.

IX

The 2 other householders are brothers (d11J and d12J) whose mother belonged to a second Jorotika subgroup. One of them (the leading member of Bebehupa) has been making several successive gardens nearby on the land of his mother's brother who lived in Sivepe. His wife's classificatory brother (d13S) controls this portion of lineage land as a member of the same Jorotika subgroup; he is the most prominent and influential member of the Sivepe branch of Seho clan but he was not consulted on the question of

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the transfer of the other Jorotika land. He has dismissed the Jegase man's claim that he and his brother have rights similar to their lineage-mate's (d10J).

The 2 disputants are the same parties who made conflicting claims to the Hambai'embo land.

591 may be influenced by proximity to a new area of land it is intended [614] to bring into cultivation.[1] [166]

(iv) Rights to land. The Orokaiva social system is character- 423 ised by flexibility in arrangements for group membership and for transmission of rights to land (e.g. through adoption). Inheritance [428] is usually patrilineal[2] and various land rights may be distributed at a number of levels of social segmentation - the clan branch, lineage and individual - the relative significance of each varying with locality and, apparently, population density.[3] Further, more 614 than one descent group may have rights in a single piece of land. In many instances the clan branch functions essentially as a refer- 423 ence group, all land being associated with it. However, it may function as a primary right-holding group for those hunting areas distinct from current garden land, typically the grasslands.[4] Priority rights to garden land are normally vested in the lineage; nevertheless, all such land is ultimately identifiable with individuals who may distribute land (and property) prior to their death not only to their immediate family but also to more distant kin.[5]

241 This markedly influences the pattern of both exploitation of 423 land and transmission of rights. In the low density areas a number [613] of descent groups often agree to exploit simultaneously an area

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[754] [578] [1] Rimoldi (1966:68) found no evidence of the need for new land as a motive for movement. He considers the major motives to be fear of sorcery, disputes between kin and life-crises. It is nevertheless conceivable that the fear or sorcery or disputes might arise from poor yields from over-cropped garden land, which would require a move in any case.

[562] [2] Women are known to hold land only as a form of trust for their children (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:75).

[311] [614] [3] We do not know whether any causal relationship exists between these two factors. However, the existence in low density areas of primary forest surplus to current garden needs, plus extensive grassland and mountain areas utilised largely in hunting only, might well account for the responsibility for such land being vested in the larger social group, the clan branch. This group's significance has been eroded in the high density areas, where there is little or no land surplus to present gardening needs.

[224] [4] In the high density areas hunting is frequently confined to garden land and individuals can commonly hunt over land belonging to anyone in the village.

[5] For example, sisters' sons (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:24).

241 423 [613] that is then cultivated contiguously,[1] while in the high density areas there is a tendency towards a more individual pattern of exploitation.[2] Short-term rights to land for the non-lineage members are frequently granted (on a reciprocal basis), sometimes to facilitate contiguous cultivation or to compensate for inadequate landholdings. This pattern is promoted by the high degree of [425] fragmentation of individual holdings. Further to this, Rimoldi (1966:62, 95) observes that plots are often permanently transferred outside the direct patrilineal line, and this applies equally to [578] land under both cash and subsistence crops. In the Inonda area, however, Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:73-5) observe that there is considerable reluctance to plant, or make land available for planting cash crops if the land has not been acquired patrilineally, for fear of subsequent disputes. Thus the tenurial situation may be of considerable significance in the development of cash cropping.

245 Traditional tree crops are not planted in stands or groups like cash crop trees, but are widely scattered and may equally well be planted on patrimonial land or on land of affines or matrilateral ●428 kin. Inheritance of rights to trees usually does not involve rights to the land on which they stand. However, owing to their wide spacing, their presence rarely seriously affects other cultivation of the land.

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[1] The decision-making process has not been investigated but it appears that there is no institutionalised position relating to land matters. An exception is provided by the Yega of the Gona census division who recognise a 'land custodian' (see Dakeyne 1965:55).

[311] [136] [417] [2] It is possible that this is an expression of the fact that sufficiently large areas of suitable secondary forest are not available at any one time to permit contiguous cultivation. Two other factors are that in low density areas wild pigs and other animals necessitate the fencing of gardens, a task which is easier for contiguous groups than for individuals, and that in forest much wider fringe clearing is necessary than in low second growth. The volume of fringe clearing per garden is much reduced if gardens are contiguous.

man and both are now aged residents of Inonda. Having no other source of land rights they became accepted as primary (but perhaps less privileged) members of their adoptive father's lineage and sub-clan and were given rights to some of his land. These are still held. One of them married an Inonda woman and his children have acquired some rights from their father and some from their mother. The other man married a woman from the neighbouring Urio village. He has no children and lives with his only adopted daughter's family. He is old and senile and cannot leave the house. When all the lands of the village had been covered by our survey, none had been mentioned as belonging to him. When the matter was queried it was explained that technically he had rights in the lands of his lineage of adoption, but that as an aged dependant without issue, these rights would lapse on his death. In practice they had already lapsed.

Two illegitimate children have been adopted by the father of their respective mothers (who were sisters). They will acquire land rights from him in the same way as if they were his own children. (His only born son is at present teaching in New Britain). In one case, however, the mother's present husband has also offered to make land available to the boy when he grows up. In the early stages at least he would acquire only permissive rights to this land.

In the event of the death of a local man who has young children, the children will need adoption in so far as foster care is concerned, but not necessarily in so far as land rights are concerned. A current example is that of the death of the only resident adult member of the Oiwa'undi lineage. A man of Jegotumo lineage took in the deceased's wife and "adopted" his children, but it is understood that they will inherit their land rights from their father, though in the event of need they could get land from their adoptive father. The adoptive father at present acts as 'trustee' for their lands.

A marginal case is that of a young unmarried man of a distant tribe whose mother recently remarried to an Inonda widower who has no children. The young man lives and plants with the couple. His mother's new husband speaks of him as his adopted son and says that if he remains in the village he will

inherit rights to some of his adoptive father's land, but most of the land will pass to the adoptive father's brother's children. If the adoptee does not remain in the village he will acquire no rights. The other children of the new wife remained in their home village with their father's kin. They will acquire no rights in Inonda.

In fact the fathers of over half of the Inonda men seem to have died before the children reached maturity. Most men, therefore, have been in an adoptive relationship, though in varying degrees, and one man had three adoptive fathers in succession. If land is readily available adoptees most frequently inherit from their own fathers, but if this is not convenient, rights can be acquired from the adoptive father.

There is usually no ceremony to mark adoption but it is of interest to note that the status of adoptees (and others whose status within a descent group is vague or marginal) is to some extent fixed by the government census. This is no doubt unintentional on the part of the census-takers, but we have frequently heard people say that a certain person should get his rights from a particular man because the patrol officer recorded them together in the village book; or in a particular village because his name appears in the register of that village.

Rights in relation to categories of land

House-sites: The various house-sites in Inonda were allotted by informal discussion at the time the village was set up. At first the Andiriha built their houses on the northern side and the Jego'undi on the southern side of the village square but the Andiriha have subsequently expanded to the western and southern sides. The eastern side is occupied by the government rest house. Where two brothers live in separate households, their houses are adjacent, as are those of fathers and sons. House-sites of members of the same lineage are contiguous except in the case of a recently married man who had to build on another site within the village because the area occupied by his lineage was full.

There do not seem to be any specific boundaries between houses, and rights to any particular house-site are said to

Alienated land

432 The only alienated land in the Inonda area is a mission lease of five acres close to the village. It was purchased by the government for the sum of £5 and leased to the Anglican Mission for a school site.(1) The purchase money was paid to the then head of the Andiriha sub-clan but it is said that he received it in his capacity as leader of the lineage which had occupied this land (or as successor to the head of the extinct Paru lineage). The money was not shared. The main Popondetta-Oro Bay Road runs through Inonda, but the actual purchase of the land by the Crown has not yet been completed.

Transmission of land rights

425 Examples have been given of the transfer of land rights between clans (pages 14-16, 21-23) and of the succession to rights of a lineage which died out (page 26). Within the lineage 428 the ideal pattern of inheritance of land rights by individuals 613 is patrilineal. The sons often hold rights jointly, though in some instances the lands have been divided between sons. As the number of resident adult males in any lineage does not seem to have exceeded three either in the present or the remembered past, joint rightholding has not occasioned undue difficulty. Although it is customary for the rightholder who is senior by birth to act as spokesman for the rightholding group, he does not appear to hold any superior rights to his co-parceners. While the patrilineal pattern predominates it is modified by factors of residence, family size, adoption, availability of land, and matrilateral and affinal connections.

The people traced the inheritance of proprietary rights to twenty-two out of thirty-seven blocks of land by direct patrilineal descent from five initial rightholders. It is appreciated that deviant relationships (adoptions, illegitimacies, refugees, etc.) are often forgotten, particularly in earlier generations, and memory assimilates the realities to the ideal pattern. It is therefore possible that inheritance was not so direct in fact.

(1) It is not at present in use as the school was shifted several years ago to Hohota.

In five blocks rights were obtained by a man by adoption from two previous rightholders neither of whom had any surviving male children, and each of whom adopted this man in turn during his childhood. The two men belonged to different lineages. Another six blocks belonged to the Paru lineage which died out due to an absence of male heirs. The rights in five of these lands fell to a female member of the lineage and from her to a relative in a neighbouring village (the precise relationship is not known). His descendants transferred the rights back to a relative of theirs in the Jego'undi sub-clan of Inonda. It appears that individual rights are not retained for long if the holder is permanently resident elsewhere. Rights to the sixth block of Paru lineage land passed through a Paru female to her son in the Joremba'embo lineage of his father. It will be noted that Inonda lands have changed from one lineage to another firstly by adoption of a member of another lineage and secondly by transmission to the son of a female of the donor lineage. Such instances only occurred when there were no resident males in the direct line.

When a male is born to a current rightholder the child immediately becomes a potential joint rightholder in his father's land. His rights crystallize when he plants his first garden, usually at the time of his marriage. People claim that the first-born child has no rights superior to those of any other, but in the case of joint rightholding at least, he is recognized as senior, and as the spokesman and trustee in negotiations involving other groups. There were insufficient instances of brothers holding gardening land jointly to ascertain the precise nature of the elder brother's rights of control.

The enforcement of rights

In pre-contact times rights could be enforced by recourse to negotiation or arbitration by elders within the village, by direct aggression or by recourse to sorcery. Today direct aggression is illegal, and though it still occasionally occurs between individuals or small groups, it is no longer a very important deterrent. Sorcery is still widespread and the fear of it appears to be an effective deterrent to encroachment on the rights of the strong, though not necessarily on those of persons whose status is low. In the event of encroachment by another

The inheritance of property

342 Traditional housing has a life of only about four years. It is simply constructed and does not call for any great expenditure of either effort or materials. If the household head 768 dies, his wife and family may continue to occupy the house, though if there are adult sons they will usually dismantle their late father's house and rebuild nearby. If the wife remarries her new husband must provide her with housing.

428 Replies to questions about the inheritance of tools and equipment were unanimous. Those who had one son (real or adopted) said these things would descend to him alone. Those with more than one son said they would go to the first-born who would divide them among all the sons, though he should make some provision for his sisters if they were living at home. Those with no children or with daughters only said that their chattels would go to the sons of their eldest brother. The one exception was a man with four daughters and no sons. Neither did his brothers have sons, although his late sister has surviving sons in a village about ten miles away. He says that if he does not have a son before he dies, he will leave his property to his eldest daughter to distribute among herself and her sisters.

The proposed inheritance of cash savings and traditional valuables followed the same pattern as that of tools and equipment, though informants state that the first-born son need not necessarily actually divide the estate, but will normally merely take care of it as trustee for his siblings. He is then obliged to meet their obligations in respect of bride-price and other exchanges from the common pool. This practice has in fact been followed in all instances checked with the villagers, though they do say that it is not contrary to custom to share the estate among the beneficiaries.

While it is said that a man's dogs are usually inherited by his eldest son, pigs and fowls appear generally to be consumed during the feasting associated with the death. One exception noted during our stay was a large pig which had been "earmarked" as part of a bride-price exchange. When the owner died this pig was in fact reserved for the bride-price, though his other pigs were killed for the funeral feast.

428 The inheritance of economic trees is a little more complex. All of them take a number of years to mature (about fourteen in the case of sago) and several informants mentioned that "trees are for the children". It is quite common to plant trees and name them for specific children or grandchildren. Although most trees were said to have been planted by the father or grandfather of the present owner, there were several instances of inheritance from a brother or fathers' brother. It is quite common for an individual to inherit a few trees from matrilateral kin (almost invariably one's mother's father or brother). This practice is not universal and several men claimed no trees from matrikin. Informants indicated that the practice of giving trees to non-resident kin was less common in past generations, but has become more widespread with the increased mobility which has resulted from the post-war improvement of communications. The evidence collected supports this view, for although few of the older men had received trees from matrilateral kin, all those with married daughters had allotted a tree or trees to their grandchildren.

[59] As earlier noted, adoption (of various degrees) is widespread. Many adoptees who acquired no long-term land rights or other property from adoptive parents did receive one or more trees. One man in particular claims trees from three successive adoptive fathers.

657 "(a) ... keep the land clear of all rubbish
428
242

(b) ... cut down and burn out all diseased plants and trees....

(c) ... obey the orders of any Agricultural officer....."

A full-time inspector is employed by the council under the ordinance and a number of persons has been prosecuted for failure to keep their coffee and cocoa gardens cleared.

657 The question of inheritance of rights to land regis-
428 tered under the scheme has been raised by the council on a number of occasions, particularly during 1962 when it formed the main topic for debate in a number of meetings (most of which were attended by Unit staff). Most councillors favoured either (a) the nomination by the registered "owner" of a single male heir (usually the eldest son), or (b) the inheritance of the coffee block by all sons either jointly or by subdivision to individuals. In the absence of sons, rights were to devolve on brothers, on
(614) sisters' sons or on daughters' sons. On the other hand, Native Affairs staff who attended the meetings advocated that as the clan as a whole had made the original allocation, the clan as a whole would need to select the heir. There appeared to be inadequate realization of the different nature of the rights held at the levels of the clan and sub-clan, the lineage and the individual. The fact that all members of the sub-clan were required to sign the agreement was merely a written affirmation of a customary allocation made at some previous time. Under Orokaiva custom, once land rights are allocated they are transmitted thereafter in the male line (subject to occupation, the existence of sons and so on). The councillors were merely asking that the rule be based on the existing custom; a custom which seemed to be appropriate to the circumstances. However, the difference of opinion was not really a matter of great consequence as councillors were informed that advice had been received from headquarters in Port Moresby that the council would not be permitted to make any rule on the question.

657 The aim of the registration scheme is to promote the
428 planting of cash crops on individual plots with some security of

472 marketing or the more intricate techniques of production. It does
554 suggest, however, that they have a sufficiently clear conception
153 of the way to achieve the goal (and the way is more important than the goal itself) to enable them to organise and to act. It is apparent that the entrepreneurs studied were highly motivated.[1]

Land and food gardens

241 Most Orokaiva men established their cash crops on customary
423 land to which they have acquired rights by inheritance from their
[428] fathers. None of the entrepreneurs did so, though all claim that they could have done had they wished but deliberately chose not to.
[472] Each stated that the reason was to avoid claims by kin to their land, produce or income.

241 A had cleared bush land and planted coffee at Garara where his
423 close kin had been permitted to resettle in the late 1920s. Though
472 the host clan did not mind the newcomers planting food crops they objected to cash crops and forced him to abandon it. About 1930 the newcomers purchased about 2,000 acres of virgin bush land at Kapurahambo from the clans of Soputa. The transfer was accompanied by a series of feasts and dances and the distribution of traditional valuables. The land was divided among the buying group, A and his two brothers being allocated an area of eighty-one acres on which they have since planted cocoa and coffee. A has applied for re-
[656] gistration of his land under the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963.

B claims he had extensive customary land available to him and this is confirmed by other villagers. But for his cash crops (coffee and cocoa) he chose to clear an area of unoccupied bush land which had formerly been owned by a small group which had been decimated and the survivors scattered decades before. B thought he would acquire exclusive rights to the area he cleared (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:72-3). He subsequently improved the security of
[656] his title by registering this land under the Higaturu Council land registration scheme, a transitional scheme, now superseded. He has since applied for registration under the 1963 legislation.

C has rights to hundreds of acres of customary lands. For his
[432] cash-cropping, however, he chose to use two adjacent blocks of a total of 106 acres which had been purchased by the government for European settlement in the 1920s for 54 pounds of tobacco, one tomahawk and one knife. The European lessor planted coconuts but abandoned the property before the second world war. Though legally

[1] A better understanding of this aspect will be achieved by research to be undertaken in 1967 by Ruth Finney of the University of California.

241 Later again, in line with an agricultural officer's recommendation,
422 he encouraged each son to plant individually. He proposes that his
592 gardens should be inherited by his sons jointly, with work and
423 profits being shared by them.

428 B's bachelor brother speaks of the cash crops as B's even though both have worked on them equally together, but says that B 'looks after' financial and other matters on his behalf. Whichever of them dies first the other will inherit, but when both die the assets will be inherited by B's only surviving son, a former teacher who shares no interest in cash-cropping.

C claims sole rights to his plantation on the ground that he has compensated his brothers for their help with gifts and by assisting them to establish their own cash crops. There is reason to believe, however, that if C dies before his children are adult, his brothers will probably claim a share. Some other people of [578] C's village regard the plantation as belonging to several sub-clans jointly and their challenge to his rights was a real threat until he was issued a formal lease.

422 D has no younger brothers, but he did have a government loan
24 (though it was not intended for hiring labour). With the loan
464 and gross profits from his store (see p.11 ff.) he has hired a
[654] total of seven workers at various times. As with the labour occasionally hired by the other entrepreneurs, they have all left within a few months of engagement. The employers give no adequate explanation for this and, as I have been unable to contact the former employees, the reasons can only be postulated. In some cases the employer has had insufficient money to pay them but this has not always been the case. Almost all employees have come from twenty to a hundred miles away and most are from different language and culture groups from the employing entrepreneurs. This may well [466] be due to the fact that the employer-employee relationship, with its clear-cut subordination, has no traditional precedent and is [571] incompatible with Orokaiva notions of appropriate interpersonal relationships. New relationships of this kind are probably easier to establish with strangers and outside one's own community.

Since his attempts to engage permanent paid labour were not [621] successful, in recent years A has frequently arranged for the [602] people within his hamlet (his children, his brothers and their children, two father's brother's sons and all their spouses) to undertake short-term tasks such as clearing or harvesting. At the end of each task he compensates them in cash or store goods. None of the others has developed this sort of arrangement.

472 The entrepreneurs have all benefited from assistance given by
654 government officers. Before the war A marketed his coffee through the government and he speaks of the Resident Magistrate assisting him to import and install a coffee machine and open a bank account.

balance in December 1965 being close to $300. The value of savings certificates averaged $10, shares in Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society and Gona Co-operative Society $10, shares in Oro Ltd $85 and cash in hand $42, giving an average total of all liquid assets of $447.[1] In both cash and other liquid assets A, B and C were much better off than D, though D's consumption level appeared to be very much higher because of his government development loan.

A, C and D have no traditional valuables (hambo and di) though in each case their brothers do have. B had $87 worth in May 1963.[2] The averages for Inonda and Sivepe villages, by comparison, were $18 and $11 per man. Whereas Inonda people acquired most of their valuables by inheritance or in traditional exchanges, B acquired almost all of his for cash.[3] In his young days he bought some when visiting distant places but most of them have been acquired when people appeal to him at tax collection time (tax is $4 per year) or when they need cash for other urgent necessities. The visitor presents him with a valuable and asks for 'help' in the form of its cash value. Most persons requesting this help have been distant maternal kin, but some are friends with whom he had trading or work connections in earlier years. The fact that none come from his own village is said to be because neighbours or close relatives would be ashamed to ask for money in this way. The other three entrepreneurs say they decline requests of this kind.

Income

An attempt to assess annual expenditure was abandoned. It is difficult enough to assess income which comes in relatively large amounts from limited sources and at long intervals and for which some records are available as a check. Expenditure, on the other hand, is in much smaller amounts, for a much wider range of commodities and for which almost no documentary evidence is available.

An assessment of income is given in Table 4.

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[1] Cash savings of Inonda and Sivepe village householders, on the other hand, averaged $24 and $21 respectively.

[2] For method of valuing hambo and di, see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:97.

[3] We have heard of recent examples of sale within villages elsewhere in the Orokaiva area.

Table 15

Replacement value of tools and equipment

A	$101.70	E	$138.05	I	$164.30
B	87.50	F	82.90	J	142.80
C	254.80	G	113.60	K	46.40
D	54.70	H	376.45	L	222.40
Average	$124.68		$177.75		$143.97

Traditional valuables. The possession of hambo (bone and shell ornaments) and di (feather headdress) may give some indication of a man's adherence to traditional values. In traditional Orokaiva society the possession of such valuables demonstrated wealth and prowess, but this function is now being taken over by money, as the relative importance of cash as the means of procuring desirable products increases, and money transactions become more frequent. Hambo and di are inherited through the father and sometimes other relatives, and they are usually distributed among the surviving sons. It is difficult to assess the traditional valuables owned by any one individual, as a man often looks after his younger brothers' shares and more than one person, both within and without the nuclear family, may have rights to the hambo and di kept in a particular household.

As shown in Table 16, subjects A to D possessed an average of $31.51 worth of traditional valuables, subjects E to H $46.16, and I to L (only one of whom has any such valuables) $7.50. H, the owner of the largest quantity of valuables, acquired them by inheritance and does few transactions with them today.

Table 16

Cash value of traditional valuables*

A	37.33	E	50.00	I	30.00
B	25.00 (assessed)	F	11.15	J	-
C	63.70	G	49.90	K	-
D	-	H	73.60	L	-
Average	31.51		46.16		7.50

* Values were calculated according to rates set out in Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:97-9. If a man held valuables jointly for himself and other kin, only his proportionate share is listed above.

657 423 man since tenure conversion was introduced. It suggests that in situations of stress, as when sorcery is feared, traditional tenure patterns may take precedence over the newly introduced system.

Several people mentioned that they will in future share the proceeds from their rubber with non-blockholding kinsmen, but most said they would not.

Inheritance of converted land

657 423 428 [178] In law blockholders may depart from the traditional pattern of inheritance when disposing of their land. As far as could be ascertained, most of the Ombi-Tara people wish to continue the traditional Orokaiva inheritance pattern, under which the first son generally has some precedence. The first son is not, however, the sole owner but rather the nominal trustee of the land for all sons. If the landowner has no sons, his daughters may keep the land in trust for their sons and in some cases the daughter's husband may also acquire some rights.

Several people intend to pass their blocks to the first son only and expect any other sons either to take up another block on what is now clan land, or to gain wage employment in an urban area.

Work organisation

657 423 182 512 The time spent in Ombi was too short to enable any conclusions to be drawn about the effects of conversion on work organisation, but a few general points may be made. There was no set routine in the sense of particular days being set aside for particular kinds of work. A number of people reported that Wednesdays and Fridays are set aside for Mission and Council work when required. During our stay no Mission work was done and Council work was done only on the first Friday, when most of the men went to a village two miles away to cut the grass around the Administration school, due to open the following week. Gambling occupied many people for much of Saturday and Sunday but others carried out normal work in the gardens on these days.

657 423 182 Husbands and wives worked together on food and cash crops, but I am unable to estimate whether husbands work more on cash crops and wives more on food crops as has been observed at times elsewhere.

[462] [464] [465] Five men were employed on maintenance work on the Popondetta-Kokoda road near Ombi for the full period of our stay, receiving $6.42 a fortnight. The need for cash to pay the Council tax and the Mission jubilee contribution led five others to work on road maintenance during the final week of our stay. Although working a thirty to forty hour week, the five longer term roadworkers have planted an average of 410 rubber seedlings each which is greater than the average of 346 seedlings for all Ombi-Tara blockholders.

Chapter 5

Summary and conclusions

657 423 Current Administration land policy aims at the introduction throughout Papua-New Guinea of a single system of land holding under secure individual registered title, and the promotion of indigenous agricultural development.

Land tenure conversion has been confined to the Northern District of Papua where it is at present costing the Administration about $116 per block or $6 per acre. This estimate includes the cost of providing salaries, staff housing, stationery, and office facilities, and excludes provision of planting materials, field equipment and extension services. There appears to be some scope for simplifying and reducing the costs of tenure conversion. The costs of tenure conversion should be compared with the costs of other methods of promoting indigenous agricultural development, for example land resettlement schemes, in order to determine which methods are most economical of public funds.

To what extent are the two aims of the tenure conversion legislation being achieved at the Ombi-Tara conversion scheme?

Individualisation of tenure

[178] Land rights at Ombi-Tara were traditionally held both by individuals and by groups. There are several indications that the de facto tenure system introduced since tenure conversion may be little different in some important respects from traditional tenure arrangements.

[428] (i) The Ombi-Tara people intend to continue traditional inheritance patterns (with some modifications) in future, and this may lead, as it has in other Pacific countries, to several persons holding de facto rights in a block of land which is considered in law to belong to a single individual.

[476] (ii) It appears unlikely that traditional Ombi-Tara obligation patterns will be broken down by tenure conversion since the obligation system provides the main means of social security for the villager.

'communal ownership', which is sometimes applied to indigenous land tenure, is misleading and must be qualified. New Guinea land tenure may best be understood as a pattern of rights of usage. For example, a man who is the first to venture into a patch of rain forest and mark distinctive trees thereby acquires the right to hunt in that forest area; if he clears the forest he acquires the right to cultivate that land. These rights are inherited by his descendents. Thus individual adults control the rights to hunt, forage or cultivate on all land, and, incidentally, to fish in the streams which traverse their land. But each individual is also a member of a closely cohesive parish[1] group, to which he owes absolute loyalty. The parish group, through its sub-groups, clans, lineages, and individuals, controls a certain area of land. It was inconceivable in the traditional days of inter-parish warfare, that any land should be given or sold to the neighbouring enemies. Under traditional custom, no individual could sell freehold title to land; at most he could permit the temporary use of land by a stranger on the full understanding that he as a lender retained the permanent rights.

New Guineans are just as conscious of their individual rights to the use of land as we are, and many disputes occur because of real or imagined infringements of a person's rights. Land boundaries in New Guinea are rarely marked by fences. More commonly they are indicated by distinctive trees, rocks, or very often by bright-leaved shrubs such as croton or cordyline. Land holders have what is, to us, an almost uncanny knowledge of the location of their boundaries. A villager can lead you unerringly through thick secondary growth to his boundary mark and can point out, for instance, the almost imperceptible rise in the level of the land marking the line of a pig-fence, now completely rotted away, which bounded his swidden several years earlier.

[1] The term 'parish' may appear unusual in this context. It is used in the sense in which it has been adapted by Dr. H. I. Hogbin (1953) that is, the largest group of people forming a political unit. Hogbin denies the existence of tribes in New Guinea (with the possible exception of some of the large highland groups). He applies the term parish to numerically-small political groups.

[P 2-B]

LAND TENURE

614 423 Each clan controls some areas of mature rain forest, some of secondary forest, and some of grassland. Only the secondary forest is regarded as valuable garden land. The mature rain forest is potential garden land of the future, and grassland is unimportant, except for hunting. Clan land-holdings are fragmented within the confines of Yega territory. This pattern can be explained partly by the social system of land use and partly by the history of Yega expansion inland from the coast. The 613 476 423 members of different lineages belonging to the same clan normally combine to clear areas of rain forest by communal labour. When the work is completed the land is divided among the lineages which helped clear it. This is 614 423 [613] the origin of the pattern of large continuous strips of land belonging to one clan, but sub-divided amongst the sub-clans and lineages of that clan as shown in Fig. 3. The commonly elongated shape of clan holdings is the result of continuous clearing in one direction by a group of kinsmen talking and joking as they worked and thus keeping close together. The small enclaves of land shown 614 602 423 within the general Kurou clan area but belonging to other clans (Fig. 3) may be explained by affinal relationships. At various times the Kurou men cutting down the forest gave permission to some men of other clans, who had married Kurou women, to work with them. These affinal kinsmen thus acquired [428] cultivation rights to small pieces of land, which have been inherited by their descendents. The first areas cleared were close to the coast; as population increased and more land was required, the inland forests were cut down in the manner described above.

241 423 613 [614] Rights to cultivate land are controlled not by the clans but by the lineages; in each lineage the oldest member living in the parish territory has the authority to say which land shall be cleared for gardens and how the work is to be organized; fragmentation is thus reduced. In practice, however, many lineages are numerically small and the sub-clan head coordinates the work of members of the lineages

[R.N-A]

621 main road, or even facing each other on opposite sides of it. Although this is clearly
361 the wish of the majority of the people, it does not suit all of them. There is some
731 talk that it increases the danger of sorcery, and certain individuals fear that it will mean an increase in the burden of responsibility of the village maintenance type. Thus some hamlets have not joined in the general move, and others have split on the question. Another question that cannot be answered at the moment is, how far was the earlier hamlet system a result of tendencies towards violence and strife in the society, and to what extent will such tendencies be overcome or intensified by the new arrangements?

It is of course one thing to say that a hamlet or village group has land in a new part of the country suitable for their migration, and quite another to say that each individual in the group will find such a move to be the best. Looking at the matter retrospectively, it is now possible to see that many of the answers given to administrative enquiries were framed to assure the authorities that all would be well if they left the refugee camps immediately; everything was subordinated to this end.

423 The inheritance of land is mainly patrilineal; but a man may work his wife's
613 land, and even, with the assent of her relatives, inherit a share in his mother's land. This means that individual members of a clan, instead of inheriting land jointly
● [428] from a common ancestor, often inherit and claim land in different parts of the country through matrilineal or marital influences. A clan, however, lives together and its members work land near their residence. Because of influences which lie outside the direct patrilineal line, or because of fragmentation, the person who has senior authority over this land may or may not be the genealogically senior member of
[554] the clan. At any rate, he is given a special title, *enda mamo*, or "father of the land." If the clan finds it necessary to move its residence, it will also probably move its land-use area. This involves a change in the balance of land authority and the emergence possibly of a new *enda mamo*. This has in fact happened in several of the new villages.

731 At the time of my visit to the area in April, it was confidently expected that
361 once the people started building homes on the new sites, all would be well. In fact the situation is much more fluid and unsettled. The Putemo people, for instance, who had moved to a site almost contiguous with the magnificent new village of Sairope, had not yet settled questions of garden land. The village site was given to them by the Sairope people, but this meant removing themselves several hours away from the old garden lands, and they had not worked out to what extent they could claim land closer to them. In many cases individuals, say of the Popota hamlet, would agree to move with the hamlet. When they started building their home or inspecting the ground the real consequences of the move came home to them: it was not then merely an academic question. They considered alternative sites—their own near other new villages, their wife's, and their mother's. Often too the wife, on her return from Ilimo, would have something fresh to say about choice of site. Moves and uncertainty were frequent and it may be months before the final situation is satisfactorily sorted out. In such ways, incidentally, it is probable that new clans are formed

628 together, the church council, with representatives from all the
631 villages, deliberated together. This cooperation was a gradual
731 development occurring over the years under consideration; it will be traced in detail in a later chapter. The setting up of wards under the Higaturu Local Government Council led to further occasions [794] for formal cooperation between villages belonging to the same ward. It was characteristic of both the church and the government council [797] organizations that they divided the Sasembata district into areas with definite boundaries, each area comprising several villages. The church recognized two such divisions, the government council three. I have already emphasized that the idea of such boundaries [192] was a novel one (see Map IX).A It is beginning to have two kinds of effect: first, the strengthening of bonds between villages within the same ward or the same section of a mission parish (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Isoga, which up to now have not been closely allied) and secondly, the loosening of bonds between villages divided by the boundaries which are now being defined (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Kongohambo, hitherto closely allied, but now separated by administrative procedures).

628 These generalizations will be documented below; my task at
423 present is to consider contacts between Sivepe and closely allied
578 villages arising out of the eruption and relocation. Here inter-village cooperation was a far less significant factor than inter-village competition, especially for use of the land. One of the deep anxieties of the Orokaiva in the refugee camps and later in resettlement villages such as Irihambo, Awala, Kongohambo was that if the people did not return to their land, some others might decide to occupy it and it might be impossible to dislodge them. This was a very real danger because neither in 1951 nor at present is there in existence a land register from which the ownership of individual or village parcels may be unequivocally established. The Orokaiva plant boundary trees round their blocks of land and [685] there is a taboo on interfering with these. This is not merely a supernatural taboo; interference with a boundary justifies a killing. It is far less clear, however, just what rights a person holds in a particular parcel. As this is a crucial issue in the whole history of Orokaiva resettlement, I should explain this in some detail.

423 Crocombe and Hogbin provide an excellent example of the
613 ambiguity of Orokaiva land rights. After wars with the Sangara, both the Andiriha and the Tandai'undi clans were driven from their villages and settled down together in a village named Sambogo. [621] Later, some of the Andiriha set up Inonda on land to which the Tandai'undi had superior rights. At present, this land is used by Andiriha, and upon inquiring into the legal basis of tenure I was given the following explanation. Two daughters of the Tandai'undi owner's lineage married into Andiriha and were given the Inonda [428] land to "look after." As is usual among Orokaiva, this right to

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 8--Analyst]

423 "look after" the land was passed on to the daughters' sons, who
613 now hold it. This arrangement is something like a perpetual,
428 inheritable usehold, but should the lineage of the useholders die out, the land would revert to the Tandai'undi, as Crocombe and Hogbin point out. Furthermore, should the present occupants decide to settle elsewhere, the land would again revert to Tandai'undi. They have residuary rights and, as Crocombe and Hogbin again point out, they are not alone to have them, for another neighboring group (the Urio people) likewise have residuary rights. In these circumstances it is understandable that, for instance, the people of Inonda would be most concerned if they were forced to settle, even temporarily, away from their own lands.

We find the same pattern in Sivepe. First of all, the blocks of land over which individuals had perpetual useholds contained, in almost every case, some blocks which had not been inherited through the patriline. Secondly, even those blocks which had been so inherited were often held in common with others belonging to a different village and nowadays counting themselves as belonging to a different clan, even though agnatic links could sometimes be
731 traced. On the day of the eruption, or within the four days
361 following it, both Sivepe and the closely allied villages were
423 evacuated, and they were together at Ilimo. When the camp was disbanded, a large resettlement village was established in Kongohambo, on land belonging, at least in part, to Sivepe villagers of the Seho clan. Almost 1,000 people were settled there so that garden land in the vicinity of Kongohambo became very highly prized. Meanwhile, the government desired to resettle the Sivepe people in Awala. It seems that the Sivepe people did stay in Awala for three months, after which the Jegase and Timunu clan groups received permission to return to their land in Sivepe. The third Sivepe clan group, Seho, stayed on in Awala, but planted gardens in the Sivepe area.

At this point, the Seho people evidently felt reasonably secure; a year later, however, they joined the other clans in Pamba and together built the new village of Sivepe. When I asked Seho informants why they had returned they told me it was because of fear of losing their land. How this danger did not come from the other Sivepe clans, who were mostly affines of the Seho people and whose return to their home village evidently caused no great concern to the Seho people in 1951. The danger came from Kongohambo which adjoined the Seho lands. Some Kongohambo people had residual rights over some of this land; if the Seho people did not return, they would undoubtedly have had some trouble in getting it back.

The government, though aware of this possibility, had
[657] imagined that Sivepe people would not be too concerned, seeing that they had been offered garden land at Awala. Government reasoning can be traced from the discussions by Belshaw and Keesing and also from a long memorandum by Plant (see bibliography), a public servant

621 another source of annoyance. Some village groups requested permission
657 to move from Koipa and this was granted. A report on the file refers
731 to the clearing of new gardens South of Koipa (end 1956), but in May, 1959, we read that these persons who left Koipa had "over the last 18 months split into two groups one of which settled at Bagisaturu and the other at Kiorota." The villages had been laid out (according to "modern" principles, as I myself observed), gardens and garden houses established, coffee planted. Government supervision over these movements was much less strict than it had been in 1951, though strictly the village sites ought to have been approved before the villages were built.

657 This second phase of resettlement became possible because the
731 first phase was not accompanied by any renunciation of land rights,
423 or foreclosure of the possibility of return. At no time did the resettled groups give to anyone else a permission to occupy vacated
245 lands nor accept payment for any of their land or its products. After this second resettlement, however, one substantial land tenure problem remained. The nature of this problem is the second lesson to be drawn from the example of Dopari tenure described above. The traditional Orokaiva land tenure system is not well-adapted to cash cropping. The Dopari people are likely to lose their coffee plantations as a result of tenure difficulties. Likewise, Crocombe and Hogbin believe that the failure of several Inonda families to plant coffee is due to tenure difficulties. The Inonda families who did plant coffee were careful not to do so on the extensive land holdings which they inherited from maternal relatives because they feared claims that might otherwise
● [928] be made by maternal kin. The fact is that a large proportion of Orokaiva land is held on a legal basis much more complex than patrilineal inheritance. When an Orokaiva holds land he has inherited from his father, both he and his father having continuously resided on the land, that man is indisputably the owner and he can grow coffee or rubber on that land without fear of interference. We have already seen that no Inonda land is held in this way. In Sivepe, most men have some land of which they are indisputably the owners, but at the same time most of them also have useholds over many pieces owned by maternal kin or affines or absent agnates. They are "looking after" this land, and the true owners never trouble them as they either have their own useholds lands in the villages where they live or are working in towns or on plantations.

These circumstances change as soon as cash-producing trees begin to be grown. It is then that claims begin to be asserted and Orokaiva customary law has no way of dealing with such claims. The owner is certainly entitled to a share of the proceeds, and the size of that share is dangerously indefinite.

Inquiry in Sivepe showed that the people were well aware of the danger. All but two coffee growers had planted on land inherited from their fathers, preferring to use their other lands for subsistence crops. One of these two exceptions was the Seho clan chief who had

24: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1973) 1977
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731 1966–1967, however, this fear was not mentioned to me by informants,
423 whereas I often heard of their worries about the danger that relatives from
425 other villages might take their land, goods, and chattels.

18. On the average, an Orokaiva derives approximately half his land from patri-
178 lineal inheritance. In accordance with British terminology, I have called this
423 "patrimony land." The other half comes from a variety of sources, mostly
428 from uterine kin.

[pp. 342–400 not processed]